DIFFERENCES CITED IN PANEL VERSION OF 8 NIXON TAPES

Judiciary Committee Issues Transcripts—Comparison Notes Key Variations

JUDGMENT IS WITHHELD

President's Position Is Seen Less Favorably Than in White House Version

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By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 9—The House Judiciary Committee published today transcripts of eight tapes of President Nixon's Watergate conversations that differ markedly from the edited transcripts made public by the White House.

In addition, the committee published a side-by-side com-

Comparison of texts of tapes, Pages 18 and 19.

parison made by its staff of the significant differences from the White House transcripts.

Although the committee refrained from making any judgment about the differences, it seemed likely that some of them would be used by Mr. Nixon's critics to damage his case in the impeachment inquiry.

Some of the discrepancies were already known as a result of the unauthorized disclosure of various passages by Judiciary Committee members. But a full comparison of the differences was not possible until today.

Major Dicrepancies

Among the major discrepancies between the two sets of transcripts are the following:

¶The committee's version contains several comments by Mr. Nixon that could indicate, in the view of critics, that he knew of and sanctioned the Watergate cover-up before March 21, 1973—the date he says he first learned the facts of the case.

¶The committee's transcripts include additional statements by the President that could also indicate to critics his acquiescence in a payoff to buy the silence of one of the Watergate conspirators.

¶The newly released documents contain suggestions by the President that his aides "stonewall" the investigating authorities rather than tell them the truth.

¶The President is depicted in the committee's version as having been pleased wih the work of John W. Dean 3d, his former legal counsel, in keeping the cover on the Watergate case through the 1972 election.

Ziegler Critics of Panel

At the White House today, the President's press secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, insisted again that Mr. Nixon had not been involved in the Watergate cover-up and accused the Judiciary Committee of "dribbling out" its evidence in a "hypoed public relations campaign."

The eight transcripts published by the committee today were made from tape recordings that were turned over by the White House to the Watergate grand jury last year and to the Judiciary Committee last March. The White House version of the eight transcripts was published April 30.

Since then, the President has refused, despite subpoenas, to release further tapes to the grand jury or the committee. His failure to honor the grand jury's subpoena is awaiting decision by the Supreme Court.

The Judiciary Committee chairman, Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, and the panel's special impeachment counsel, John M. Doar, have insisted for months that the many discrep-

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Differences Cited in Transcripts

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ancies between the White House and the committee transcripts point out the committee's need for additional tapes in its impeachment inquiry.

The following transcripts were released today:

¶Sept. 15, 1972: the President, Mr. Dean and H. R. Haldeman, then White House chief of staff.

¶Feb. 28, 1973: the President and Mr. Dean.

¶March 13, 1973: the President and Mr. Dean.

¶March 21, 1973, morning: the President, Mr. Dean and Mr. Haldeman.

¶March 21, 1973, afternoon: the President, Mr. Dean, Mr. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, former chief White House domestic adviser.

¶March 22, 1973: the President, Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Dean and John N. Mitchell, former Attorney General and campaign director.

¶April 16, 1973, morning: the President and Mr. Dean.

¶April 16, 1973, afternoon: the President adn Mr. Dean.

Many Differences

There are differences in wording on virtually every page of the two sets of transcripts. Committee officials have explained that they have audio equipment superior to that in the White House, and the assertion has not been challenged by the President's spokesmen.

Most of the thousands of discrepancies are inconsequential, but in dozens of cases they appear to provide a significant variation of tone or meaning. In every instance in which there is a substantial inconsistency, the President is case in a better light in the White House transcript.

Mr. Rodino said that the passages selected for the staff's 131-page, double-spaced comparison of the transcripts were chosen because "they are the differences that would stand out."

One important difference, however, was not contained in the staff comparison.

At the Feb. 28 meeting, the President and Mr. Dean discussed the fact that Herbert W. Kalmbach, then the President's personal attorney, had been questioned by the authorities and had not yet disclosed damaging information.

The President then said, "It'll be hard for him, he—'cause it'll, it'll get out about Hunt."

Neither that statement by the President not anything similar to it was contained in the White House transcript of the conversation.

The only known connection between Mr. Kalmbach and E. Howard Hunt Jr., one of the convicted Watergate conspirators, was that Mr. Kalmbach spent about six months raising about $450,000 and distributing it, through intermediaries, to Mr. Hunt and other defendants.

The President's statement might indicate to critics, therefore, that he knew in February that money had been paid to defendants. He has contended that he did not know of those payments until March 21.

Dean-Nixon Exchange

At the March 13 meeting, according to the committee transcript, the President and Mr. Dean had the following exchange:

Mr. Nixon: Uh, is it too late to, to, frankly, go the hang-out road? Yes it is.

Mr. Dean: I think it is. I think—here's the—the hang-out road—

Mr. Nixon: The hang-out road's going to have to be rejected. I, some, I understand it was rejected.

"Hang-out" is the term used by the President and his aides throughout the transcripts to mean airing the full truth.

The White House transcript does not show Mr. Nixon saying, "Yes it is," and does not contain the sentences about the option's having been "rejected."

At the morning meeting on March 21, at which, according to the President, Mr. Dean first lad out the facst of the case, the hWite House tarnscript has Mr. Nixon saying, "I am surprised by what you told me today."

In the Judiciary Committee transcript, the President says, "I'm rather surpirsed at what you told me today."

On the question of hush money to Mr. Hunt on March 21, the committee transcript shows what may be a pertinent difference.

It has the President saying to Mr. Dean, "would you agree that that's a buy-time thing. You better damn well get that done, but fast?"

In the White House transcript, the President says, "Would you agree that that's the prime thing that you damn well better get that done?"

Then, speaking of the Hunt demand for money, the President, according to the committee version, said, "Well, for Christ's sake get it."

The White House transcript deleted the words, "For Christ's sake."

Punctuation Differences

Sometimes, the inclusion or omission of a punctuation mark seems to give a different meaning to a statement in the transcripts.

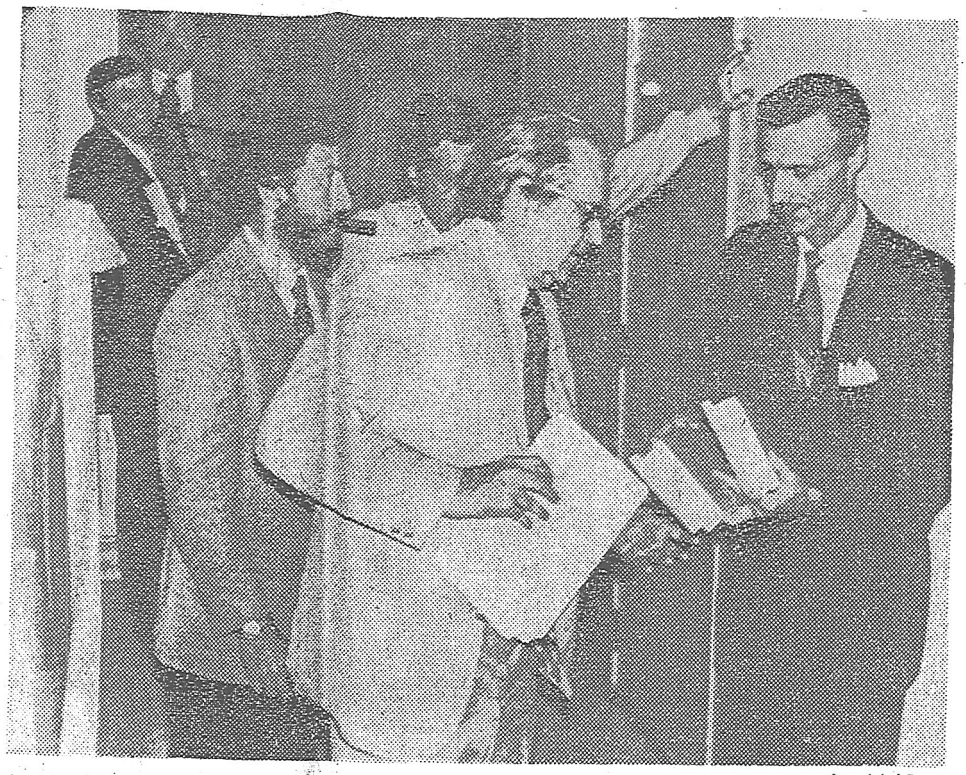
At the meeting on the afternoon of March 21, the President and Mr. Dean were discussing the question of Mr. Hunt's demand for money, and Mr. Dean remarked that Mr. Mitchell and a campaign official, Frederick C. LaRue, were "aware" of the situation.

Mitchell-Nixon Talk

According to the White House transcript, the President said, "True. Are they going to do something?"

The committee transcript indicates that teh statement was not a question. It has the President saying, "True. (unintelligible) do something." There is no question mark at the end of the sentence.

The committee's transcript contains a 16-page exchange between the President and Mr. Mitchell on March 22 that does not appear at all in the White House transcript. During the exchange, the President expressed his view that his associates should not coc



Associated Press

Benjamin C. West, superintendent of the House Press Gallery, distributing copies of the Judiciary Committee's version of Presidential tapes.

with the investigative authorities.

He told Mr. Mitchell that he did not care what happened, adding: "I want you all to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendment, cover-up or anything else, if it'll save it—save the plan."

Mr. Nixon has insisted that as soon as he learned of the cover-up on March 21 he took steps to get the full truth out.

Earlier at the same meeting, the President, according to the committee version, said that he needed to maintain "flexibility" in his position on executive privilege" in order to get on with the cover-up plan."

The White House version has the President saying that "flexibility was necessary "in order to get off the cover-up line."

Ever since Mr. Dean began accusing the President of complicity in the cover-up scheme, the White House has taken pains to criticize Mr. Dean and to show that the President was not aware of Mr. Dean's activities in the months following the Watergate break-in.

However, in the segment of the March 22 tape that does not appear in the White House transcripts, Mr. Nixon said, "John Dean is, uh (unintelligible) got—put the fires out, almost got the damn thing nailed down till past the election."

Then, after Mr. Dean left the room, Mr. Nixon remarked to Mr. Mitchell, "I was going to say that Dean has really been, uh, something on this."

Mr. Mitchell said, "That he has, Mr. President, no question about it. He a very—

And Mr. Nixon broke in, "Son-of-a-bitching tough thing."

Later this week, the committee is expected to begin releasing other evidence it has obtained on the Watergate case, and next week evidence on other aspects of the impeachment inquiry are to be made public.